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THE Nation

October 31, 1953

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# Behind the U.S.–Israel Crisis

*by Lillie Shultz*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Waterfront Revolt — *Richard Carter*

South's Eve of Decision — *Bernard Crick*

Weapon Against Poverty — *Fern Hadley*

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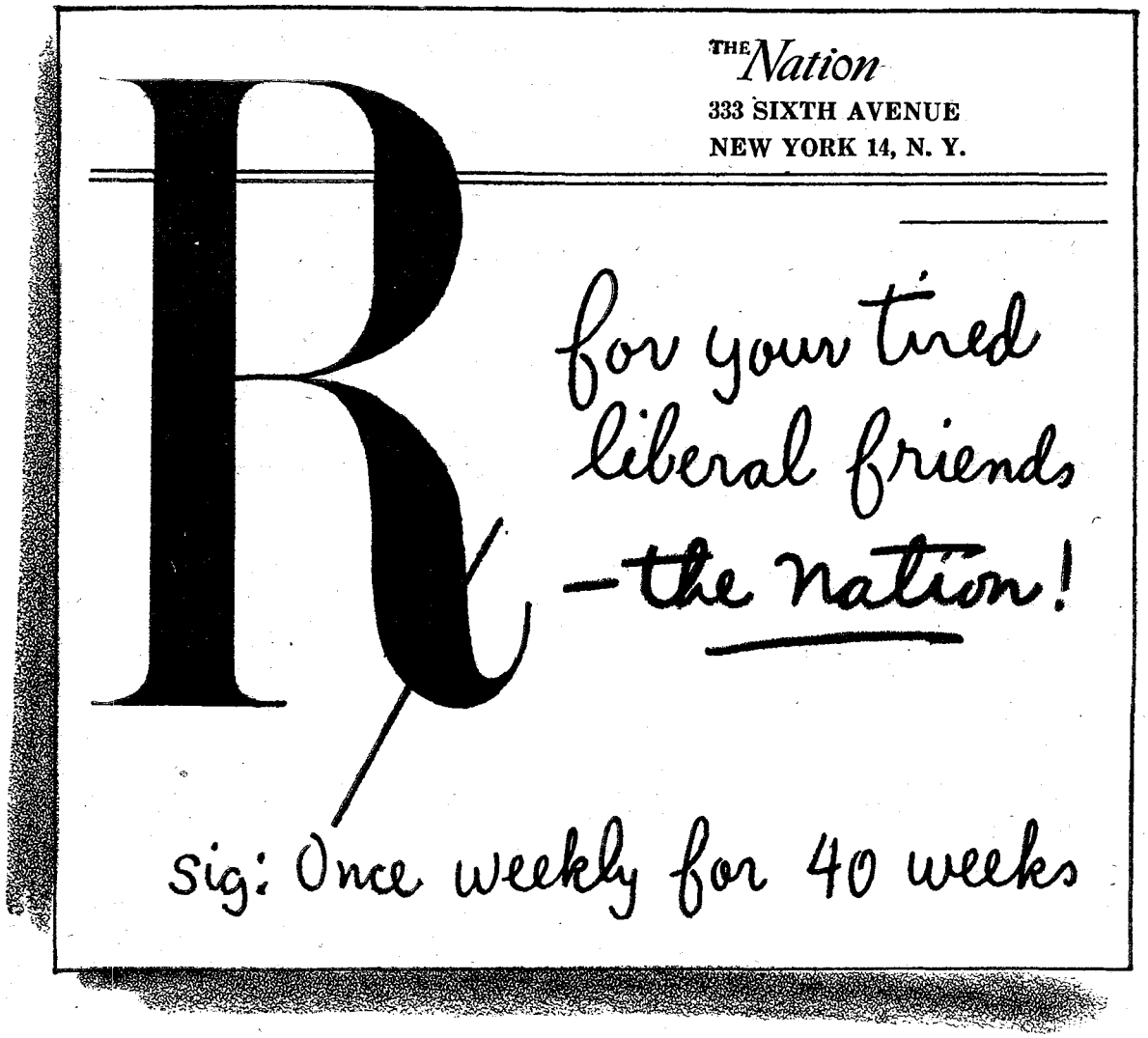


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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

# The Shape of Things

## There's No Alternative

In its handling of the Middle East crisis the U. N. faces perhaps the most challenging test of its capacity as a peace-maker. Four years of an uneasy truce between the Arab states and Israel have now exploded into the kind of violence which leaves the U. N. no choice except to face the fact that nothing less than negotiations for a permanent peace settlement will serve.

Truce violations have been regular occurrences for years. Since the U. N. consistently failed to take action, it was inevitable that the Arabs should have felt encouraged to persist in their course, just as it was inevitable that the Israelis should resort to reprisal.

The Western powers have the power to bring about peace talks between the Arab states and Israel—provided they can subordinate their own equivocal ambitions to bolster relations with the Arab states to the larger interests of the area as a whole. That the Arab states will resist peace discussions is certain, just as they resisted the truce agreements. But once the United States and Britain, having fumbled for more than a year, made it clear that they would be satisfied with nothing less than an armistice, the Arabs' resistance broke down.

An equally firm stand with respect to a negotiated peace is long overdue. To be sure, Mr. Dulles's recent performance offers little hope of the necessary objectivity. Still, saner councils may force a belated understanding that American and world interests alike are best served by peace—and peace has never yet been produced by appeasement.

## Plan for Peace and Progress

Nor is physical violence the only threat to stability in the Middle East. The existence of upwards of 800,000 Arab refugees, subsisting on relief and showing no progress toward permanent rehabilitation, is both a tragic human problem and an explosive political weapon. Here, too, the U. N. for years has refused to admit that the return of these people to their former homes in Israel is impossible, and that their resettlement in Arab lands is the only fruitful solution.

Now a group of thirty-three Americans, of which the president of *The Nation Associates* is glad to be one, has offered the U. N. a new and imaginative approach to the problem. In the interests of peace, the group proposes a six-year program aimed at (1) permanent resettlement of the Arab refugees in Arab lands; (2) the simultaneous development of the "water, soil, oil, chemical, and human resources of the Middle East through a series of regional projects for the benefit of the indigenous populations, the refugees, and the area as a whole." Two international funds would be created: $500,000,000 to initiate the development program, and $300,000,000 to finance resettlement. Each fund would be administered by a U. N. commission.

Terming peace between the Arab states and Israel "an indispensable factor in enabling the Middle Eastern area to be developed and the refugees to be settled," the group calls upon the U. N. to bring it about. "Unless this is done," it points out, "the ensuing demoralization in the context of the tensions in this strategic area could add fuel to tinder with disturbing, if not disastrous, consequences."

We commend these proposals to the U. N. and hope that it will discard the restricting resolutions which currently bind it and embark upon a course serving both the area's people and world security.

## The Thankless Puppet

In return for the costly job of keeping the Communists out of Vietnam, France has been expecting that Bao Dai, emperor of the little country, would help keep the French in. But now the dapper ruler, darling of the night clubs and of the French Colonial office, appears to be either unable or unwilling to keep his side of the bargain. Two weeks ago a Vietnam National Congress, hand-picked by Bao Dai, declared that so far as it was concerned, the French have been fighting a seven-year war for nothing; the Vietnamese, the Congress said, want no part of their savior, not even a French Union.

Subsequently the Congress leaders backed down a little, but not before tempers rose to the breaking-point in France. As parliamentary debate on the issue began over the week-end, everyone was in high dudgeon—the liberal elements because they saw here further proof of the futility of the whole Indo-China struggle and the Colonial Office because it felt how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless puppet! In the end the Bao Dai regime will undoubtedly agree to some compromise, just as Laos has done. But the Vietnam Con-

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gress by its defiant gesture has brought Indo-China a little closer to independence, and France a little closer to the realization that if it has to negotiate, it might almost as well do so with Ho Chi-minh as with Bao Dai.

## Adenauer's Fifth Column

Victor everywhere—in Bonn, in London, in Washington—Chancellor Adenauer presented his new Cabinet to the Bundestag in an address which was both confident and generous in tone. He even proposed that Russia should participate in a Big Four meeting—after having helped to wreck Churchill's conference plan in London. He was equally generous toward the opposition, knowing well that for the next four years the Socialists will be an impotent minority. And he claimed that the elections had brought the extremists of the right under control.

In fact, the extremists have been brought under control through the simple process of being absorbed into the Chancellor's own following. One of the reasons the Nazis did not make a better showing was that they decided it would be absurd to fight as a separate party when they could work from within the ruling coalition. The Nazis are the real fifth column in the present West German regime, but a tolerated fifth column. The government is placing former Nazis in subaltern posts at an increasing rate: the cadres of the future army, now in preparation, are full of them, and they are reappearing in the press, radio, the publishing houses, and the theater.

Among many tasks they fulfil one very important function. They direct the mass-meetings of refugees from the East who will one day create an irresistible body of opinion demanding the return of the lost provinces.

## The Emspak Case

In the Emspak case, which will be heard on November 30, a historic decision faces the Supreme Court. Among other issues, the tribunal has agreed to consider whether the "House resolution setting up the un-American Activities Committee abridges freedom of speech, press, and Assembly in violation of the First Amendment" and whether "the First Amendment protects a witness before a Congressional committee against compulsory disclosure . . . of his political views and affiliations." Thus for the first time the tribunal will pass upon the constitutionality of the inquisitorial committees and on the protection given by the First Amendment.

Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the powerful left-wing United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (U.E.), which broke with the C. I. O. in 1948, was called before the un-American Activities Committee in December, 1949. When asked to identify members of his union, he sharply refused. In the words of the federal trial judge, the witness "quickly made it apparent that concern for his union was uppermost




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in his mind. . . . He lost no time disputing the powers, the right, and the authority of the committee to inquire into his beliefs, his associations, or, as he stated, anything else." For his part, Emspak said: "I think it is my duty to endeavor to protect the rights guaranteed under the Constitution, primarily the First Amendment."

McCarthyism may well stand or fall upon the Supreme Court's decision in this case.

# U. S.-ISRAEL CRISIS

## Peace or Appeasement . . *by Lillie Shultz*

*United Nations*

PEACE between the Arab states and Israel is possible. A firm position, vigorously espoused by the United States, Britain, and France, could assure progress toward that end.

The vehemence of the Lebanese delegate's opposition to any broad discussion by the Security Council of existing tensions between the Arab states and Israel is a clear indication of Arab fears of the power of the Big Three to force at least an approach to a settlement.

Significant is the fact that no Arab state initiated action on the incident which precipitated the emergency session, an Israeli attack on the village of Kibya in Jordan, allegedly causing sixty-six deaths, in retaliation for an attack on an Israeli village by Jordan.

Caught by surprise by the action of the United States, Britain, and France in calling the session, the Arab states made every effort to have the whole discussion canceled. In this they failed. But Lebanon, a member of the Council, did succeed in having the agenda so worded as to bring from China and France the criticism that it was not impartial. Both these countries, it may be assumed, were primarily concerned lest a precedent be established which one day might be cited against them.

The tragedy of Kibya serves to highlight the fact that the Palestine truce agreements are no substitute for peace, and that discussions looking toward a settlement can no longer be delayed.

For five years border incidents have been taking place, increasing in number and intensity under the whiplash of Arab propaganda for a second round against Israel, and in the face of seeming indifference by the Security Council. The fact is that never before has that body been called into session to deal with such incidents, even though in a single year (June, 1952, to June, 1953), the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission dealt with 184 border incidents, in the course of which it ruled 159 times against Jordan and only 25 times against Israel. But the Security Council cannot claim ignorance. In July, 1953, the government of Israel called the U. N.'s attention to increasing border tension. Yet no action was taken by any U. N. body.

WHAT PRECIPITATED the present action of the Big Three? Unquestionably the chief motivation was the hope that each could thereby strengthen its relations with the Arab world.

Britain, which created the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, pays most of its budget, created and trained the Arab Legion, and has base rights there, is nevertheless losing its hold on the country, particularly since Jordan's annexation of Arab Palestine.

France still hopes to return to Syria or at any rate to strengthen its unofficial military relations with that country. Moreover, the Moroccan crisis has imposed the need of giving some token indication at least of a pro-Arab attitude.

The United States wants a Middle Eastern pact, to which the Arab states continue to offer resistance, charging Washington with pro-Israel bias.

The Kibya incident was seized by the three powers to demonstrate by action that they are not pro-Israel, as the Arabs charge. Ignored by them is the fact that for five years the population of Israel has been living in a state of tension provoked by the fear of the sniper and the marauder atop the surrounding Arab hills. Forgotten is the fact that, since 1950, frontier incidents by Jordanians have caused 421 Israelis to be killed or wounded; there have been 128 cases of sabotage, 866 cases of armed attack, 3,263 instances of robbery.

It may be assumed that the Big Three prefer peace to violence. But the United States, whatever its preference, is encouraging violence rather than peace by its pronouncements and action against Israel in advance of the U. N.'s receipt and appraisal of the facts.

THAT THE State Department is seeking to set the stage for a large-scale appeasement of the Arabs is indicated by the sequence of events.

On October 17 the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, in identical communications, sought an emergency meeting of the Security Council and an invitation to the head of the Truce Commission to report personally on the existing tensions. Twenty-four hours later, before the Security Council had time to meet or react, the United States State Department issued a public denunciation of Israel. At no time has the State Department, publicly or privately, expressed the slightest concern for Israeli victims of Arab attacks. Were the State Department truly concerned with peace rather than with appeasement, it might have withheld its criticism of Israel until General Bennike had reported. Then if the circumstances warranted, it could have denounced Israel in the Security Council to its heart's content.

But even more revealing of intent was the announcement by Secretary Dulles on October 20 that the United States was withholding funds allocated by Congress to Israel, on the ground of



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Israel's refusal to accept a U. N. decision to share the waters of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers with Syria and Jordan. The language of Dulles's charge was such as to make it appear that Israel is opposed to regional development of the water resources of the Middle East, and in particular has not agreed to a U. N. project for the regional development of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers for the benefit of Jordan, Syria, and Israel.

But no U. N. regional project of this or any other nature exists. What does exist is a preliminary desk survey by the Tennessee Valley Authority, made at the behest of the United Nations Works and Relief Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNWRA), of the possibilities of the unified development of the water resources of the Jordan Valley region. This survey was transmitted to the UNWRA on August 31. Its existence was unknown to the public, the press, or Israel until an official of the State Department disclosed it on October 19 to an important American publication. When this leak became known, the U. N. agency released the document to the press as a whole. Israel received it when it was released.

BUT MORE important, the document is only a working paper. It forms no part of UNWRA's official report to the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is one of many working papers which UNWRA plans to study.

The only official UNWRA project in existence today calls for the development of the Yarmuk and Jordan rivers for the benefit of Jordan and to the exclusion of Israel. This project is to cost $40,000,000 and will take five years to carry through, assuming that the preliminary surveys, costing $1,500,000, indicate that it is feasible. The project, intended to serve 150,000 Arab refugees in Jordan, will divert waters from Jewish settlements on the Israel side of the Jordan which for two decades have been irrigated by the waters of the Yarmuk and could lead to their ruination.

For months the government of Israel has tried to persuade both the United States and the United Nations representatives to agree to *regional* development of the Jordan-Yarmuk river system. In fact, in July, 1953, regional development was the subject of an Israeli memorandum submitted to Dulles. This document pointed out that the UNWRA scheme for Jordan-Yarmuk development does not meet the needs of the area and urged that a regional undertaking be substituted.

Israel emphasized that it was ready to discuss such regional plans with the representatives of the countries concerned, without insisting upon a prior over-all peace settlement. Despite these representations, the U. N. agency decided to proceed with the plan for the unilateral development of the Jordan potential for the benefit of Jordanians. It is significant that prior to reaching an official agreement for this development with UNWRA, Jordan last February signed an agreement with Syria covering that portion of the development along the Syrian border.

Although the Yarmuk and the Jordan form a common border also between Israel and Jordan, no attempt was made either by Jordan or by the U. N. agency to secure Israel's agreement—this despite the fact that the diversion of the waters of the Yarmuk not only could destroy a number of Israeli settlements but also cancels out the concessionary rights of the Palestine Electric Corporation. The latter in 1926 received from the High Commissioner for Palestine the concession for the utilization of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers for power generation. A separate agreement was signed with Jordan, validated under its electricity-concession law of January 23, 1928. Subsequently the government of Jordan, in its treaty of alliance with Britain of March 22, 1946, provided under Article 10 that "commercial concessions granted in respect of Transjordan territory prior to the signature of this treaty shall continue to be valid for the period specified in their texts." When in 1948 a second treaty of alliance was concluded between Jordan and the United Kingdom, Article 10 was omitted, but in an exchange of letters the Jordanian Prime Minister indicated that the purposes of Article 10 would be upheld.

On May 14, 1948, when the mandate ended, the Palestine Electric Corporation received from the government of Jordan a list of conditions under which the company would be permitted to operate. These conditions were accepted and complied with by the corporation.

This is the side of the story which Dulles chose to ignore.

Denied access to any regional scheme for the development of the Jordan-Yarmuk potential, Israel proceeded with its own plans for the harnessing of a portion of the Jordan River, with a view to creating more hydraulic power. The project, carried on in an area belonging to Israel but now demilitarized, provoked Syria to complain to the Truce Commission. General Bennike, head of the commission, summarily ordered a stoppage of the project—which involves no diversion of water. Israel informed General Bennike that it was prepared to accept adjudication by the Security Council. The matter was placed on the Council agenda on Syria's complaint, and only on October 23 did the Council decide to discuss it on October 27.

The item has been before the U. N. for weeks. If the State Department considered it important enough to justify the withholding from Israel of $50,000,000 of American appropriations, why didn't it seek emergency action by the Security Council? And if it is so concerned with observance of U. N. decisions, why has it never called Egypt to account for its failure to carry out a Security Council decision providing for the free passage of ships through the Suez Canal, including Israeli ships? The inescapable conclusion is that the State Department is concerned primarily with giving the Arabs proof of Washington's devotion.

WHY ARE the Arabs afraid of peace? First, there is *amour propre:* they simply cannot swallow, even after five years, Israel's victory in a war which they initiated. Second, there is the hope that denial to Israel of normal relations in the region, including trade and travel, may help to produce Israel's economic collapse. Third, there is the fact that propaganda for a second round against Israel serves as a lightning rod to divert the anger of indigenous populations seeking an improvement of their miserable lot.

Israel has made no secret of its desire and need for peace. The Arab world needs it just as urgently. And Western security is tied up with it inextricably. Despite the inauspicious beginnings of the present debate, the Western powers still have a large opportunity to bring about progress toward peace by acting with objectivity and firmness.



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J. Alvarez del Vayo

# Russia's Irrevocable "Nyet"

*Paris*

After a few months of relative decrease in international tension, new complications have arisen. The great expectations produced in May by Churchill's famous speech have been succeeded by an equally great disillusionment. In London the Foreign Ministers of the Big Three buried the Churchill peace plan without any obsequies. The alternative they offered was very thin. The note inviting the Soviet Union to confer on Germany and Austria on November 9 was certainly couched in more courteous terms than usual, but submitted to the test of practical possibilities its futility is evident.

The last Soviet note asked for clarification of certain points. The Allied reply does not clear them up. Russia asked that China should participate in a big-power conference to end East-West tension before the German question was considered. The Allied reply makes such a conference conditional upon the success of the political conference on Korea. It is no secret that America has but slight hope for the final success of this conference, which is supposed to meet on October 28: the opposing sides have been unable so far even to agree on which countries are to participate in it. There has been talk lately of a non-aggression pact to be offered to Moscow. At the insistence of the West German Chancellor, the three Foreign Ministers abandoned their original intention of referring to it in their note. Finally Churchill's idea of a meeting with Malenkov has been left to a future so vague as to imply renunciation. Some reports from London hopefully stress the fact that Sir Winston tried to regain the lost ground by alluding to his original plan at a Downing Street luncheon on the day the Foreign Ministers left London, and by saying that he was ready to go to Moscow alone. Apparently Dulles did not take this suggestion seriously.

The influence of the absent Dr. Adenauer was strongly felt at the London conference. Dr. Hallstein, his Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stopping off in London on his way to New York to take part in the *Herald Tribune* Forum, saw to it that the reservations of the Bonn government to the Foreign Ministers' reply as originally drafted were immediately put into effect. Since, for different reasons, none of the three Foreign Ministers was particularly enthusiastic about Churchill's proposal, the objections formulated by Dr. Adenauer gave them an additional excuse to avoid the "perilous path" which Sir Winston outlined six months ago.

ALL THIS puts Chancellor Adenauer in an enviable position. He does not have to beg for an invitation to conferences of the Western powers. His interests are best served without his direct participation. A position similar to that in which the bilateral agreement with Washington has placed the Franco dictatorship may, under the circumstances, appear preferable also to Bonn. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 22 commented on the advantages of being "assured an 'individual association' with the strongest power without other and more embarrassing connections."

This is a commentary worth noting. It is by no means unlikely that should the European Defense Community fail to take shape, the United States would establish an "individual association" with Bonn similar to that with Madrid. In such circumstances Bonn would have to be given everything it required for the arming of troops to man Europe's first line of defense. Already rumors are circulating about the existence in West Germany of plants for the manufacture of atomic weapons. However, it does not really matter whether such weapons are made by the Germans or are put in their hands by the Americans. What does matter is the logical probability that, if the other Western nations prove recalcitrant about joining with the Germans in a common army, Germany will be regarded by Washington as the only power except Franco Spain which can be counted upon in the hour of showdown. But this speculation, however logical, does not advance the world in the direction of peace. It certainly does not encourage the Kremlin to agree to negotiations with the West conditioned on the rearmament of Germany. It is inconceivable that the Foreign Ministers in London did not know how the Russians feel on that point.

The grave view of German rearmament taken by Moscow means that the West can offer no quid pro quo which the Russians would judge sufficient—not even the non-aggression pact suggested by Mr. Stevenson. The Russians may in time reach the conclusion—they are still very far from it—that the United States has no intention of making war on them. But as long as the rearmament of Germany is permitted, not even that conclusion would quiet their fears. For they are sure that once Germany is rearmed nothing can deter the new *Reichswehr*, even if dressed in the most democratic of uniforms, from resuming the march toward the domination of Europe initiated in the days of Frederick the Great. Whoever is in power in Germany will inevitably assume the role played today by Syngman Rhee. He will push toward war—to free the lost territories, to reunite Greater Germany, to expand. Just as Syngman Rhee may do within the next few weeks, his German equivalent could create a *fait accompli* by provoking an incident that would force the United States to come to the aid of an ally threatened with the fate of becoming yet another Soviet satellite.

The choice is clear. If we wish to reach an agreement with Russia, the rearmament of Germany will have to be abandoned. If the West insists on rearming Germany, then let us waste no more time in talking but concentrate on preparations for the war which will come sooner or later. Russia can certainly be induced to make concessions in Europe and in Asia. What cannot be expected is that Russia will give way on the question of a rearmed Germany.



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# WATERFRONT REVOLT

## Wanted: A Real Union . . *by Richard Carter*

AFTER decades of intermittent government inquiry and recurrent newspaper exposés the port of New York has become such an embarrassment that Joseph P. Ryan's old friends in industry, politics, and labor have found it necessary to liquidate him. For years they cultivated the myth that reports of harbor corruption were grossly exaggerated. Now that the myth is obsolete, they pin their hopes on a subsidiary fairy tale which casts Ryan as the root of all evil. This is comparable to pretending that Charlie McCarthy is the inventor of ventriloquism.

The theory among the shipowners, stevedoring tycoons, hoodlums, and others who stand to lose most by reform of the port seems to be that elimination of Ryan and some of the well-connected bums who helped him run the International Longshoremen's Association will be sufficient window-dressing for this century. Hopeful of continuing plunder as usual, they are trying to persuade the longshoremen to remain in Ryan's union, without Ryan.

But the effort appears doomed. The most knowledgeable politicians and labor fakers in the port are not having anything to do with it. They realize that you can't give 30,000 tough longshore workers an inch without risking the loss of important yardage. The men got the inch with the scuttling of Ryan, and they are about to move in for some of the yardage. It's a fascinating picture.

First of all, one must understand that the revelations made in the recent cycle of probes did not differ in any major respect from information which has been available for forty years. But this time the working longshoremen had influential allies. Important New York business men had formed the New York City Anti-Crime Committee because they were alarmed at the growth of underworld influence in legitimate industry. As their first target they selected the waterfront. When the longshoremen struck in late 1951 against a sell-out contract negotiated by Ryan, the Anti-Crime Committee was able to arouse the press to a new curiosity about the situation. This curiosity led to publication of numerous stories which, while they misplaced responsibility for harbor corruption, at least described it for mass circulation.

Another ally of the dockers has been Father John M. Corridan, of the St. Francis Xavier Labor School. Before, during, and since the 1951 strike he has given practical guidance to longshoremen and in the process has made it impossible for anyone to use the traditional weapon of red-baiting against anti-Ryan forces.

THANKS TO the general public's new knowledge of the facts, the hearings before Governor Dewey's State Crime Commission last winter became more than another *pro forma* probe. The testimony showed that the rulers of the waterfront are the shipowners and stevedoring contractors; that many of these employ gangsters and stooge unionists so as to keep the work force cheap and docile; that the harbor industrialists bribe the hoodlums to make sure that special anti-labor projects get special attention. Because newspapers often die hard, these bribes were sometimes described in print as examples of "extortion," and images were evoked of turtle-necked bullies forcing helpless millionaires to come across or else. It was largely by this method that Ryan was invested as the arch-villain. Except for one or two slap-on-the-wrist indictments the people who gave Ryan his orders and his spending money got off with red faces.

But even when filtered and refined by interpretation, the testimony aroused public opinion to new intensity. And it produced novel effects in key places. The American Federation of Labor, after booting out Ryan and his crew, set about organizing what it promises will be a bona fide union of dock workers. Governors Dewey and Driscoll, who had accommodated themselves for years to the corruption that ruled the harbor, felt impelled to obtain passage of laws which, if enforced, would drive labor hoodlums off the piers and permit genuine collective bargaining between the longshoremen and their employers.

These laws, identical in the two states and scheduled to take effect on December 1 under a bi-state waterfront commission, are directed against the worst aspects of the port's labor system. As written, they outlaw the inhuman shape-up method of hiring, which has enabled harbor industry to select only the most acquiescent job applicants. Supervisory employees must hereafter be licensed and ex-cons will be ineligible, which means that most of the gangster foremen will be washed up. Only bona fide registered longshoremen will be hired. As in all well-regulated ports, the labor force will be stabilized, and longshoremen won't have to compete for jobs with off-duty policemen, political-clubhouse loungers, and pay-roll padders.

Above all, if the law becomes fully operative, the longshoreman will be free of the threat of violence which has prevented him from asserting his rights. He will no longer have to submit to shakedowns, kickbacks, and a super-speed-up, for his grievance committee will no longer have to fear guns, "knucks," and contrived unemployment. These prospects account for the men's acquiescence in what they might otherwise resist as a novel and possibly unconstitutional effort to regiment them.

BUT THERE IS a difference between passing a progressive law and enforcing it. Dewey and Driscoll have showed political zeal in getting the laws passed,

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*RICHARD CARTER is a former newspaperman whose articles on the port of New York won a George Polk Memorial Award in 1952. He is a contributor to many national magazines.*



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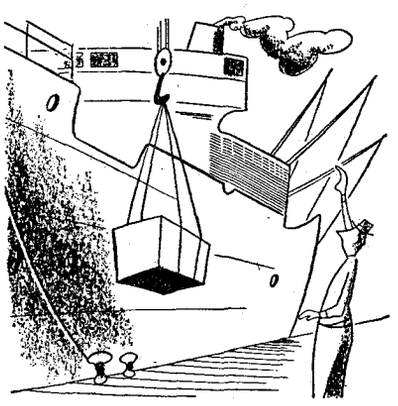
but have been perhaps less vigorous in the enforcement phase. Their appointees as bi-state commissioners are two generals with no first-hand knowledge of conditions in the port. Dewey named Lieutenant General George Price Hays, who used to be General Clay's Deputy High Commissioner in Germany. Driscoll came up with Major General Edward C. Rose, a banker who heads the New Jersey Defense Department.

The laws which these two warriors are called upon to administer are ripsnorters in principle, as we have seen, but somewhat vague about details. Much is left to the discretion of the commissioners, who will have to make up their minds on issues so ticklish as to involve the very survival of the reform program. For instance, how are the employment centers to operate? It can be assumed that longshoremen who are part of regular work gangs will continue to handle cargo on their accustomed piers, without shaping up. But what about extra workers, and what about regular workers whose piers are idle? Will such men be dispatched to jobs in strict rotation by the employment centers, or will the pier bosses be able to order specific men by name, regardless of rotation? What about the personnel of the employment centers? Will they be political hacks, shipping-company stooges, civil-service workers, state policemen, or union men?

If the commissioners were direct representatives of harbor industry, or were men connected with the movement for



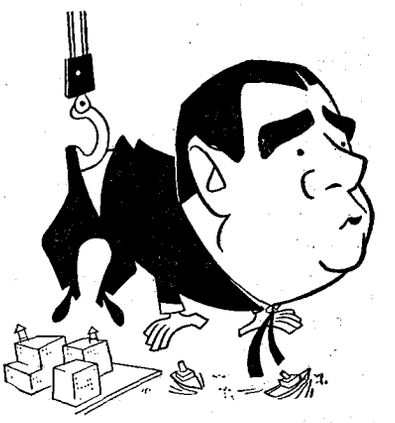
waterfront reform, it would be easy to imagine how they would answer these questions. But since they belong in neither category, it is certainly not unfair to await their decisions with anxiety. If the stevedoring firms can persuade the commissioners to run the employment centers on some basis other than strict rotation, or if the commissioners can be hornswoggled into hiring incompetents —or worse—as job dispatchers, the laws will be a mockery and the longshoremen will be at least as badly off as they were before.

Furthermore, if the laws are permitted to function as a substitute for rather than as an antidote to underworld supervision of longshore labor, they will be put to other reactionary uses. Take the clause which allows the commission to ban subversives from work on the docks. While persons of radical politics are rare in East Coast longshore circles, the shipowners and Ryan have long made a practice of branding as subversive anyone who wants square collective bargaining or opposes the speed-up.

IT IS WELL to remember that the final answer to the waterfront situation in New York lies now, as always, with the longshoremen themselves. They have made all their gains through wildcat strikes, defying the mobsters, the labor fakers, the city and state governments, and the press. They have therefore some appreciation of their own power. They are not afraid of the new law. On the contrary, they hope it pans out. If they have to accept state supervision in order to get rid of Joe Ryan and the mobsters, they accept it. If the state doesn't do the job, they will be at least no worse off.

Their attitude toward the A. F. of L. drive to organize a new longshore union is similar. They seem ready to go A. F. of L. in a secret ballot but are reserved about committing themselves openly. The mobsters are still around, controlling the jobs. The expelled I. L. A. is still functioning under a Ryan side-kick, William V. Bradley. The A. F. of L. has yet to prove it can do anything spectacular, though it is bound to be regarded as a lesser evil than Ryan and the hoodlums.

The A. F. of L. campaign is being handled by Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer of the Atlantic and Gulf District of the Seafarers' International Union, and Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The jurisdictional battle has reached the head-busting stage, and Hall and Beck have been providing ample man-power and money. So far they have not been stampeded into any deals which might compromise the budding new union. Several Ryan colleagues, among them



*Joseph P. Ryan*

Anthony (Tough Tony) Anastasio and Thomas (Teddy) Gleason, have made overtures which might have hastened the end of the jurisdictional dispute but would have left the underworld with power in the new union. Their offers have been rejected.

Good men among rank-and-file longshoremen have been named as organizers. On the brawling West Side of Manhattan the general organizer is Johnny Dwyer, a courageous and scrupulously honest docker who managed with some of his buddies to wrest Pier 45 from the mob several years ago. Under him Pier 45 has been a pretty good place for a longshoreman to work. His weakness and that of the A. F. of L. leaders is that they offer no program to the longshoremen other than promises that the new set-up will be a democratic one.

This, of course, is quite a promise for the port of New York, but it is hardly a complete trade-union program. Longshoremen are interested in wages, hours, and working conditions and might respond to organizing appeals couched in such terms. For years the men have known that West Coast dockers are better off than they are. They have been taught to believe that this has something to do with a Moscow plot entitled Harry Bridges and that they should ask no further questions. Most of them know, however, that under the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, ex-C. I. O., the base pay is $2.16 an hour, overtime starts after six hours, premium rates are paid for work on more than thirty varieties



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of difficult or obnoxious cargo, slingloads are limited to a safe 2,100 pounds, monthly pensions of $100 are paid on retirement, medical and hospital care is given free to active and retired workers and their families, and the average docker makes around $5,000 a year.

In the port of New York the base pay is higher—$2.27—but a day's work brings in less, because overtime does not start until after eight hours. Premium pay is called for on less than a dozen kinds of cargo and often is not paid at all, work gangs of as few as fifteen men are required to do the work of twenty-two, there is no limit on slingloads, pensions are only $65 a month and are virtually impossible to get because of all the qualifications required under the prevailing Ryan contract, and fewer than 25 per cent of the men make $3,000 a year.

Nobody familiar with the longshore industry has ever been able to explain why a properly organized port of New York union could not get a contract at least equal to that of the West Coast union. The suspicion persists that if the A. F. of L. fails to provide leadership toward such a goal, the longshoremen, freed at least partially from underworld fetters, will go out and achieve it themselves.

Father Corridan said to me: "The situation can't be corrected overnight by a wave of the wand, but at least we now have strong factors operating in behalf of the men. At last they have a chance to organize an authentic union. All sorts of obstacles will be placed in their path, but the important thing is that they are on the path and nothing is likely to push them off. Given a real union, it makes little difference how the new laws operate or how they are administered. My own feeling happens to be that the bi-state commission can do a good job, can help clean up the port, and can thereby remove the need for its own existence in a few years. But if, for one reason or another, the law and its administration don't work out so well, the important element will still be the union. If the men control that, they can handle anything else."

Most of the waterfront workers share Father Corridan's views.

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# MODERN MARRIAGE

## The Danger Point . . . *by Margaret Mead*

*[This article is based on an introduction written by Margaret Mead, noted anthropologist, for "Women: The Variety and Meaning of Their Sexual Experience," edited by A. M. Krich, and just published as a soft-cover original by Dell Books.]*

THROUGH the ages, women's lives have centered about their sex role. Little girls have been told as soon as they could toddle that some day they will be brides, and a little later, mothers, and, finally, if they live, grandmothers. Every other activity—learning to spin and weave, cook and bake, dance, sing, and skate, whatever the current accomplishments of young girls are—has been directed at achieving a lifelong career as wife and mother. Where for men actual sex activity, however insistently it may intrude upon attention, is a matter of a few minutes, for women each of these few minutes is laden with commitment before and commitment afterward.

But men and women are also human beings, and although their sexual equipment and roles are so different, in many other respects they are extraordinarily similar—differences may go across sex lines, as artistic gifts, executive ability, body skills are found in each sex. In both sexes we find high intelligence and dull mentality, great emotional responsiveness and apathetic indifference to other people. As long as human beings have been elaborating their lives—building houses that were more than shelters, conducting courtships that were more than a prelude to an immediate sex satisfaction, composing music, inventing new ways of producing and preparing food, developing ways of worshiping God and political systems that bound them to one another—the question of how much and how little men and women are to share equally in these discoveries and inventions has been an important one. How much of the economic load of fishing and hoeing, carrying and marketing, how much of the personal load of sexual pursuit and courtship, how much of the religious load of prayer and sacrifice, was to be put on women, how much on men?

With the change in woman's economic position that came with her frontier role in the United States, and in the Western world with freedom to work outside the home, there has come within our own history a change in the expectation of what a woman ought to appear to be like. In coeducational schools girls and boys are educated alike and taught to be individualistic, assertive, active, eager to make something of themselves. Boys learn to dislike girls who are "silly" and unlike themselves, and the term "sissy" is applied to girls as well as to boys. We have developed as our ideal of human sex relationships one between a girl and a boy of almost the same age, with the same education and the same interests: if he skis, she should ski; if he likes sailing, she sails.



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With this demand that the perfect girl should also be a perfect companion, have come early dating, a preference among boys for the company of girls far earlier than is usual in most other countries of the Western world, a picture of marriage as a relationship in which one does what one wants to do together with the other. The boy wants the girl to be independent, to have something to say for herself, to be able to make her own living whenever it is necessary before marriage, before the children come, when there is a pinch, or after the children are grown, to keep her from wearing him out because she herself is bored. As he expects to stand on his own feet, to get along by his own efforts, after his parents have given him an education, so he wants a wife who can do the same thing.

THE SHIFT in styles of marriage away from the European pattern of the much younger wife, chosen in consultation with relatives for her suitability for a home-bound role in which the experienced husband initiates his wife into sex, has been going on for a long time in America. Where the tendency in Europe is to emphasize man's ungovernable impulses, in the United States it is feared that men will not be assertive enough. Where the emphasis in Europe is upon man's skill as a lover in playing on woman, who is pictured as a delicate responsive instrument, in the United States positive sex response has come to be regarded as something women ought to have, like the ability to read.

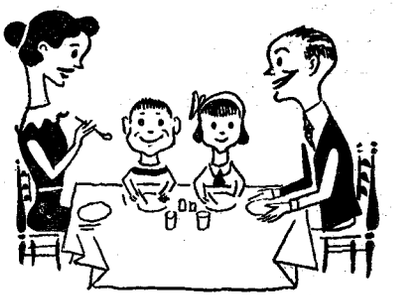
To respond positively includes the ability to say no, to postpone, delay, repulse without offending, during the long years of dating. The whole pattern places heavy demands upon both men and women, not the least of which lies in the contrast between the role of play without completion, appropriate for dating, and the shift to complete sex satisfaction in marriage. As experiencing a positive sex climax is probably no more congenial to the whole female sex than was the passive, unemotional role demanded of their great-grandmothers, these demands force some women to learn to simulate, as they have always had to simulate through the ages, in order to conform to the current style in sex behavior.

But meanwhile, as the shades of Victorian taboo and restriction on speech and knowledge have cleared away, a new approach to sex has become possible. As young people learn how very differently sexed human beings are, how different their timing, their intensity, each couple may begin to explore and test their own innate rhythms. This leads to more experimentation, more frank recognition that sexual compatibility is at least in part something that cannot be produced at will, that may not be present even with every other sort of congeniality and suitability between young people. It leads to willingness to study each other's moods, to pay positive attention to sex in a type of marriage within which sex is regarded as an important but not as the only essential component.

Other things have happened too, as the American girl has learned to stand on her own feet, to drive a car, to earn her living like the American boy. Twenty-five years ago it looked as if this tendency to make women independent might inaugurate a trend away from marriage, in which women, independent and unwilling to accept the drudgery of a home, would take lovers but refuse the continuous responsibility of husband and children. But quite the reverse has been the case. As women were given a chance to move about freely, to set up for themselves, they have more definitely and actively chosen marriage and children. Their freedom has made them more critical of their husbands, more intolerant of an unsatisfactory marriage, but not less desirous of marriage.

Girls have become more like boys; both "do things," and their goals as human beings have steadily approached each other. The male who sought and the female who waited to be sought, the male who achieved and the female who waited to be courted, the male who was actively sexed and the female who was passive and uninterested—these old models have gone out of style. Instead, we have boys and girls both of whom want to get married, both of whom want children, both of whom regard caring for little children as interesting, both of whom regard marriage as something to be worked at, something worth keeping.

SINCE WORLD WAR II a new kind of marriage has developed in America, a marriage with greater frankness, greater articulateness, greater sharing than any we have known before in this country—an early marriage, focused on having children in comradeship. Women, frightened by the possibility that a career might interfere with marriage and motherhood, have gone out in active pursuit of mates. Men, weighed down by the uncertainties of the cold war and the heavy income taxes, have relinquished the task of preparing for a



secure old age for that of giving the five a.m. bottle and taking the children to the beach.

The principal threat to the success of such a marriage comes from the timing. Girls who marry at twenty-one, even if they have four children, may expect to have the children fairly well off their hands by forty, to be grandmothers at fifty. And then come the next twenty-five years, the years which hang like a cloud over the mother who sees her children taking advantage of the independence which she has so sedulously cultivated. Two people who built their whole relationship on a cheerful, frank partnership in rearing children, and enjoying mountain-climbing picnics, now face each other for the first time in all these years across a dining-room table, alone. Here the lack of complexity in their relationship, the lack of erotic sophistication in the male, who has substituted the demand that his wife show "normal sex feeling" for any demand on himself for elaboration of love-making manners, begin to show. The male technique which depends on zest and urgency rather than upon sophistication and attentiveness is likely to flag altogether, or to cause him to turn to younger women who show him, as in a mirror, the lost spring-like vigor of youth. Women who have learned to combine sex and motherhood with an ego-driven search for success are restless and discontented, feel unwanted and rudderless.

So it seems at present that the most serious challenge to our mid-twentieth-



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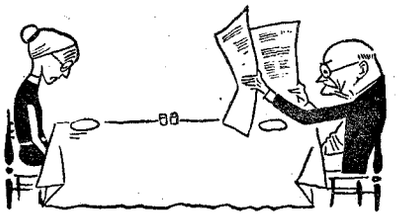
century style of marriage, with all its gaiety, its gallantry, its comradeship, lies in this last third of life. As a people we have always moved on to new things; we have had little practice in enjoying a circle that turns back upon itself.

One way of resolving this difficulty in the middle age of marriage, a difficulty the anticipation of which throws a shadow over the gayest young marriage, is the historical American answer: change—a new job for the husband, a new community for the wife, new friends in a new landscape. This is perhaps the easiest, and the husbandly kiss and the wifely response may be activated in the new home, where magnolias replace maples and dogwood. Another solution is the conscious cultivation of the more complicated pleasures—whether of cooking, gardening, collecting—of middle age, introducing a little of the minuet into the athletic tempo of the mambo, the good-humored, unelaborated, brisk



relationships normal in early adulthood.

Another solution, but a solution that to some degree solves a sex problem by dodging it, is for women to prepare for more definite work after their children are grown, so that for them, as for their husbands, home and sex become only a minor part of life, not the whole of it. This is perhaps the surest way of preventing women from becoming unbearably demanding as wives, asking for a kind of romantic satisfaction which men do not know how to give.

Perhaps most of all there is a need for both partners, but especially for the woman, to individualize their marriage, to think more about each other's rhythms, each other's capacities for change and fulfilment. The kind of sex literature which merely gives statistics on frequency of sex relationships and reported types of satisfaction, so that a man or woman can compare his or her record with some national norm, is the least fitted to inform. Rather women—and men—need to know how infinitely varied the sex capacities of human beings are, how complex the patterns which release emotion, how various and wonderful the ways that lead to ecstasy. As they come to realize the extent and depth of sex feeling—in the feelings of the young child and the parent, in the young lover who lives on in the middle-aged, and the vision of old age which makes the kisses given by the young already falter in uncertainty—the place of sex in the world, the importance of understanding sex, should take on a new dimension.

# EVE OF DECISION

## The South and Segregation . . *by Bernard Crick*

FOR a student of so-called "political science" a long summer spent traveling and teaching in the South was bound to be unusually interesting this year. Everywhere I went I heard anxious speculations about what will happen if the Supreme Court outlaws segregation in the public schools. The decision of the court, which has been put off until November, will touch the region in its most sensitive spot.

It is apparent that the court will not wrap itself up in *Plessey* v. *Ferguson,* the "separate but equal" decision of 1896, but will rule specifically on the validity of that decision. It has actually invited argument as to the historical meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment and as to the probable effect of any judgment it may hand down, thus recognizing more explicitly than ever before the unavoidably political nature of its mandates. But this victory of the "new jurisprudence," it should be noted, may equally well result in calculated political caution. The question will soon be settled; I wish to consider here only the context in which the decision will be made.

Even if the Supreme Court retains "separate but equal," it will do so in such a way as to serve notice that separate but unequal must soon be forever abolished. In the five cases brought before the court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on behalf of Negro parents in South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas, and the District of Columbia the complainant argued that even though the Negro schools were equal to the white schools, segregation on ground of race was in itself an act of discrimination contrary to the federal Constitution. Since these cases were picked as examples—all too rare—of equal facilities, the main issue of segregation is not likely to be confused again, though the court may choose to delay its judgment for months or years. While the court may reject the N. A. A. C. P. plea, it will probably order that the Negro schools must *in fact* be made equal within a certain reasonable period of time.

In that case the cost of compliance would itself lead to a crisis, particularly in the deep South. Georgia, straining to pay $74 a head for its children as compared with a national average of $123, and spending 30 per cent more of this on the white than on the colored child, simply could not afford a fully equal dual system. From a financial point of view integration becomes politically preferable in the poorer states, especially now that segregation is increasingly on the defensive. Diehards like Gov-

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ernor Byrnes may threaten to close down the whole public-school system if the court decides on integration; South Carolina may frighten us with a constitutional amendment that will erase, whenever the legislature so desires, the state's legal responsibility to support a system of public schools; Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama may follow suit hopefully; but is the faithful poor-white democracy of South Carolina going to pay the whole cost of educating its children? The cry will go up from poor communities for a state subsidy, and then the Supreme Court will be back in the picture. The gallery play of the South Carolina politicians will in the long run be unacceptable to the gallery itself.

IS THE SOUTH prepared for integration of its schools? For expert opinion I turned to the yearly Institute of Race Relations on the Fisk University campus at Nashville. The institute draws together leaders from all kinds of national organizations engaged with interracial problems and itself furnishes dramatic testimony to the possibility of full integration. The pleasure of white and colored people in mixing so easily was wonderful to observe, even if it could not be taken as entirely typical in view of the nature of the delegates' work and their high educational attainments. But even the tough-minded professional social scientists agreed with the rest that "the time is now as ripe as it ever will be." Veteran workers were vastly impressed by the record and trend of the last ten years. That record may be briefly summarized as follows:

Last year Negro votes in the South totaled about 1,350,000, compared with 250,000 in 1940 and a courageous 70,000 in 1920. The Negro vote in Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, the Carolinas, and West Virginia was greater than the margin in each case that kept them in the Democratic column for Stevenson.

The Texas Law School case of 1950 opened up professional and higher education to Negroes. A disappointing number of applicants, however, have come forward, and there have been many attempts at evasion. These are being fought in pending cases.

In the last ten years segregation has been legally forbidden in all interstate travel, but enforcement lags far behind, and intrastate travel may prove the hardest nut of all to crack. So much depends on custom rather than law. I noticed, for instance, that those attending the institute at Fisk had to travel into town at different ends of the bus ("white people to the front," "colored race to the rear"), as required by the Nashville city code, and eat in different restaurants, as required by custom, unless they were of approximately the same color. However, ten years ago the institute itself needed police protection, a condition that now seems incredibly remote.

A delegate this summer, a Canadian Quaker, went to a drive-in movie with

a Negro woman journalist and was threatened by two youths who stopped his car—"We don't stand for this sort of thing down here in Tennessee." But a telephone call from a bystander swiftly brought the state police, who actually asked the Canadian to charge the youths—"You can carry what the hell you like, sir, in your car in Tennessee." Ten years ago, everyone agreed, the police would have been very busy elsewhere.

The average income of the Negro worker is still only 54 per cent of that of the white worker, but the figure is double what it was nineteen years ago. Though Southern Senators have blocked all moves for a federal F. E. P. C., the idea has made progress among local business men, who are convinced that "it must come sooner or later." The example of the International Harvester Company has been formidable: since 1919 it has followed a policy of nondiscrimination which it has applied in its recent expansion into the South. In opening its Memphis plant in 1948 the company explicitly announced that it would hire Negroes for the same work and the same pay as whites. Other firms settling in Memphis have followed suit, for instance Firestone Tire and Rubber —and this in Memphis, where Boss Crump's tenantry have kept themselves largely union free.

At present "checkerboard" employment patterns—that is, no segregation in the actual work area—are found in New Orleans, Louisville, Memphis, and Baltimore. Field workers agree that most business men recognize the economic advantage of using the whole labor market and are held back less by genuine prejudice than by fear of being the pioneer in a particular community. The big national company moving into the South for the first time is less inhibited than the local manufacturer subject to social pressures. Many churches urge local firms and community organizations to resist this pressure. Also the C. I. O. organizers and unions brought in by the industrialization of the South insist generally on complete racial integration in hiring, promoting, and the fixing of wage scales. If the A. F. of L. would discipline the Switchmen's Union, and the Railroad Brotherhoods would discipline themselves, American labor would have won a notable victory over itself.

One of the greatest changes running counter to Southern opinion has been the abolition of segregation in the armed forces. Admittedly the army exercises considerable tact in selecting which units to send where, but integration has been accepted as a *fait accompli*. The intense emotion generated by the Korean war made General Ridgway's reversal of MacArthur's personal policy of segregation in Korea especially valuable as a sign of change.

LITTLE OF THIS, of course, has come about by chance. To get a clear legal issue before the Supreme Court has required a long and carefully planned campaign which was drawn up in outline as long ago as 1932 by the late Charles Houston, a Negro lawyer, then chief counsel for the N. A. A. C. P. The campaign reached a temporary climax in the recent pleas before the court by Thurgood Marshall, another brilliant Negro lawyer.

There is still a long road to go. Integration means more than the formal



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ending of the laws or even the customs of segregation; it means more than mere tolerance. If there have been no lynchings in the South for three years now, there have been bombings a-plenty when the Negro has tried to occupy property in "white" neighborhoods. Moreover, it is by no means only a Southern problem; the crudest discrimination and violence often greet the Negro migrant to the Northern city.

Nevertheless, the old stereotypes are becoming less clear-cut even among the most conservative Southerners. Argument has broken out in the politest circles as to whether the Negro is in fact always lazy, unhealthy, fanatically religious, flatfooted, spendthrift, thieving, and lascivious. The Southern press by and large is preaching "constitutionalism"—an acceptance of whatever the court may be misguided enough to hand down. The international outlook of the "better elements" in the South, stemming largely from the old cotton market, is a restraint on their racialist ways. The influence of the churches in the "most church-goingest nation in the world" is not negligible. Ministers in general are heartily sick of the hypocrisy of segregation in Christian churches—perhaps the Southern Baptists less so than the Methodists and Congregationalists. Confronting the fine hats and conformist manners of their congregations some ministers may hesitate to assert a human right against an existing law, but they will be lions for the truth with the law behind them. If the court moves to abolish segregation in the schools, the churches will be a considerable force for acceptance. Archbishop Rummel's opening of the Catholic churches of New Orleans to all races markedly lessens the chances of violence there. The National Council of Churches (Protestant) and the Catholic Welfare Council are unequivocal on the issue. Interracial clubs and projects have been sponsored by churches, above all by the Society of Friends, in many Southern towns.

Curiously, the race problem is merging more and more into the growing class problem; as American society becomes more and more stratified, it is easier for the Negro to integrate at his particular income level. The educated American Negro, despite the insults he suffers, the limitations to his dignity as a man, is firmly attached to middle-class America and to the democratic creed of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. He is not a rebel against American democracy but its conscience. The Negro as scapegoat is being replaced by the "Red"; instead of "nigger lover" an aroused Southern business man calls his enemy a "Communist."

No sane man would take bets on merely passive resistance in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and above all Mississippi, but elsewhere—I venture as a stranger to predict—there will be only isolated violence when the schools case breaks. Industrialism and rising standards of living have cut away much of the basis of the old conflict between Negroes and poor whites. Of course the transition to racial coeducation will be difficult and marked by many personal tragedies, but by and large the South is waiting for its fate to be decided in Washington with notable calm. Talk of "putting the nigger in his place" that one overhears occasionally on small-town courthouse steps on market days has a kind of nostalgia about it. One old farmer said to me sadly: "I guess the old days of the Klan are gone. If the army could do it the teachers can. Guess there ain't much we could do about it if we wanted to—and most of the young men don't seem to care."

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# SUNFED

## Weapon Against Poverty . . . *by Fern Hadley*

THE inability of underdeveloped countries to find the capital necessary for basic but non-profit-yielding construction projects has long been a matter of increasing concern to the United Nations. Last January the General Assembly requested ECOSOC (the Economic and Social Council) to prepare plans for the creation of a special U. N. fund for this purpose and appointed a committee of nine experts from various countries to examine the technical aspects. ECOSOC heard and discussed the experts' report at its recent Geneva meeting. This debate laid the groundwork for the current discussions of SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development) in the General Assembly; it also foreshadowed the stand of the United States against the fund.

The necessity behind the SUNFED plan is clear. A great many people in various countries will certainly starve unless the economic development of those countries is speeded up. The population of the world increases annually by about 30,000,000—80,000 new mouths every day to be fed. World food production is increasing at a less rapid rate. People in the Far and Near East, Latin America (excluding Argentina, Cuba, and Uruguay), and Africa live on the margin of subsistence. Domestic consumption in the traditionally food-exporting countries is rising, and the quantity of food available for export has already fallen and may drop still more. Existing stocks in some countries would cushion, at least for a year, reduced yields due to unfavorable weather, but a succession of semi-droughts would probably cause widespread starvation.

The solution of this neo-Malthusian problem appears to be to raise productivity, which is already being done in the highly developed countries and can be carried farther. But the food requirements of the less developed countries can

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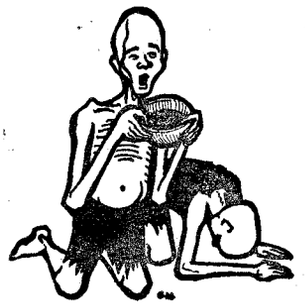
only be met to a very limited extent by imports; their own production must be increased. They have a tremendous potential output, but ignorance, lack of seeds and fertilizers, outmoded systems of land tenure, and deficient basic services like transport have prevented its development. (Economic aid would not be exclusively agricultural; mineral resources would be exploited and secondary industries fostered in the name of a balanced economy.)

PROJECTS that would bring only low and slow returns, like transport and communications, fuel and power, and irrigation, the overhead costs of development, have come to be called "non-self-liquidating" projects. There is no hope that private capital will be interested in financing them. But plenty of labor is available for these projects, and a so-called surplus agrarian population can contribute to raising output only by being utilized in that way.

Some delegations have taken the position, both at Geneva and New York, that underdeveloped countries should shun foreign capital because it imposes such severe burdens of interest and amortization and may bring political interference by the capitalist powers. The Soviet and Polish delegations have declared that those evils could be avoided by planned economies on the Russian model; governments, they said, could enforce sufficient domestic savings to finance development. The obverse of this argument is that if underdeveloped countries are to preserve free economies they must have external financing. There is an association between the maintenance of a free economy in the underdeveloped countries and external aid which those who are fighting communism would do well to consider. Yet the flow of private international capital to these areas has dried up for reasons which it will be extremely difficult if not impossible to overcome. This has even had the effect, in some cases, of producing an outflow of funds from underdeveloped countries: interest on and amortization of previous loans exceed the current receipt of foreign funds.

ECOSOC and the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly have been given startling figures showing the increasing discrepancy between living standards in the under-



developed and developed countries. In 1949 per capita income in the United States was $1,453; in Indonesia, $25. Using an index based on the agricultural resources needed to produce various foodstuffs, the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization places the diets in North America and Oceania at 145, in Argentina and Uruguay at 125, and in Northwestern Europe at 105, as compared with 45 in the Near East and 30 in the Far East.

IT HAS BEEN explicitly accepted by both the General Assembly and ECOSOC that self-help must be the basis of economic development. Domestic savings, however, have proved quite insufficient, though their flow would increase quickly if development could only by some means be started. The experts at Geneva came up for the first time with a proposal which seemed to the underdeveloped countries within the bounds of possibility and to which the developed countries were unable to make any effective objections. This was that when circumstances permitted, an international fund formed by voluntary contributions in local currency from member nations should be set up within the U. N. to provide grants-in-aid and loans at non-commercial rates of interest. Those projects would qualify for assistance which in the opinion of the governing body would contribute most to a country's economic development. Afterward they would be required to show that the funds made available were in fact being used in such a way as to assure the maximum contribution to development. The acceptance of local currency and the provision that donor countries could refuse to have their contributions used to buy commodities they needed themselves showed appreciation of the economic problems confronting some developed countries. The success of the fund would not be measured by the amount of money it made available but by the extent to which it primed the pump of economic development. The experts recommended that at least thirty countries make a relatively modest initial contribution of $250,000,000.

The wealthiest potential contributors, including the United States, responded only half-heartedly. They granted that an additional source of capital for economic development was needed but referred to the aid they were already giving to the underdeveloped areas on a bilateral basis and cited as grounds for their inability to contribute at present to such a fund the disequilibrium of trade payments and the burdensome demands on their domestic economies made by rearmament. As an alternative, they asked that ECOSOC should recommend the General Assembly to invite governments to join in a declaration that once international disarmament took place they would, following the lead of the President of the United States, invite their people to devote to economic aid a substantial proportion of the funds so freed.

In the view of the underdeveloped countries this was equivalent to burying the proposal. Rearmament, they argued, was necessitated by international tension; tension was aggravated by world poverty; world poverty could only be lessened by economic development. And for the wealthy countries to refer to their budget difficulties as a reason for not contributing to SUNFED was not very convincing to the poor countries.

The tone of the debate altered little in transfer from Geneva to New York. At the outset the United States delegate, speaking in the Financial and Economic Committee of the General Assembly two weeks ago, reiterated sharply the American position: disarmament first, SUNFED second. Once the United States stand was made known, the representatives of the underdeveloped countries knew that they were fighting a losing battle. As this is written, it is practically certain that the General Assembly will eventually approve a resolution based on the views of the United States. SUNFED, temporarily at least, can be chalked up as another casualty of the cold war, but the underdeveloped countries are seeing to it that the subject will come up again before the U. N. in one form or another.



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# BOOKS

## One-Woman Crusade

*OUT OF THESE ROOTS.* The Autobiography of an American Woman. By Agnes E. Meyer. Atlantic Monthly Press–Little, Brown. $3.50.

### By Mildred McAfee Horton

THIS is truly the "autobiography of an American woman," an American who considers it an honor to be a woman, a woman who is clearly and intelligently proud to be an American. She knows the roots and fruits of her Americanism and "absorbed throughout childhood the great gifts of a young, strong, hopeful democracy, faith in humanity, and the spiritual fortitude, the love of liberty, and the confidence in the triumph of good over evil that are inherent in this noble heritage." But it is more than the story of one person.

"Out of These Roots" is an excellent reference book for informed comments on a startling variety of interests. Turn these pages for news about Paris in 1908—the artists, the critics, the musicians, the suppers, the conversation, the rivalries. Look through them for the doorbell-ringing beginnings of Westchester County's recreation program, the activating of its County Center. Learn about the life of an American hostess in Washington after the First World War. Stretch your mind by reading about Chinese art, Chinese philosophy. Admire pen portraits of men and their messages—Paul Claudel, Thomas Mann, John Dewey.

Read about war-torn Britain as observed by a doughty American woman who decided she and her nation should know how the British were organizing the machinery of production and protecting themselves against bombs. Take a look at conditions nearer home. See Leesville, Louisiana, and the problems its social disorganization presented to the army and to army dependents. See what happened in Mobile, in Cleveland, in the mining towns of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, company towns, shipyards coast to coast. Get the feel of war-stained labor-management relations, agricultural independence facing federal controls, communities rallying their resources to make democracy work, the Back-of-the-Yards movement for self-respecting participation in community welfare, the migrants and their struggle to be men and not cogs in a harvesting machine. Take a look at the T. V. A. Get acquainted with Washington bureaucrats, with the local boss in Westchester County, with pressure groups forwarding or thwarting legislation about public health, public welfare, public schools. Find here the story of "the battle to improve public education," to provide "health for all Americans"—topics claiming chapters of their own.

Read all about women and how they are not men and what that means for young women, for families, for happy or unhappy married life. Find here a most interesting self-analysis: what makes a modern crusader out of a self-styled "priggish, introverted, and . . . not uncommon type of self-centered American girl."

Don't be scared away by the idea of a reference book on such a wide variety of subjects. Remember this is all first person singular, the personal reminiscence of someone who quite obviously cannot be *slightly* interested in anything. Her experiences in all these areas of human activity are intense and vivid. The energy with which she throws herself into her causes must make her the despair of apathetic colleagues. But could anyone be apathetic in her vicinity? The magnificent lift she gives to those organizations which challenge her interest makes others yearn to be the object of her concern. At one point Mrs. Meyer says of the Catholic poet, Claudel, "Nor did I remain untouched, arrant Protestant that I am." Protestant churchmen can hardly help wishing that her dynamic energy might have moved as inexorably through the church as it has moved through secular organizations. Any reader can name a few favorite social projects which patently need contact with Agnes Meyer's mind.

It is a distinguished mind. The breadth and depth of its activity belie the criticism of the college which helped to train it. Mrs. Meyer recalls her undergraduate experience in these grim terms:

> . . . the academic atmosphere made me feel as if I were at a perpetual funeral service without being able to discover who was being buried or where the corpse was concealed. All I knew was that the whole place smelled of death and that the faculty was rather inept at conducting the obsequies.

Observers of Agnes Meyer as the product of that type of educational atmosphere will be tempted to perpetuate the obsequies, for surely something, somewhere, taught this product of Barnard College to discipline and manipulate her mind with an incisiveness and power which are a legitimate ambition of any educational institution.

STOCKED AS her mind is with learning—for which I am sure Barnard would not claim all the credit—it is a refreshingly decisive instrument. There are few if any expressions of debatable opinions in the account of Agnes Meyer's journey through controversy. Her dicta in areas where people violently disagree are reminiscent of Luther's famous remark, "Here I stand, I can do no other." Mrs. Meyer knows what she thinks and is not hesitant about expressing herself.

> It is high time we realized that many of our own plans for civil-defense units manned by amateurs are inexcusably silly, and economically wasteful.
>
> Whoever has attempted to pry a board of trustees away from some outmoded charitable program to some greatly needed preventive work knows what a difficult task it usually is.
>
> Every new scientific discovery, whether sound or not, results in new professional or lay organizations. If we add to this appalling conglomeration of agencies and organizations, the fact that most of them are staffed with experts and administrators jealous of their professional status and the control of their budgets, then you have a situation that is bound to intimidate any sensible person who would like to serve his community. . . . These experts . . . console themselves with innumerable national conferences where they take in each other's intellectual washing and talk a jargon which is often ridiculous because it is devoid of life.

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*MILDRED MC AFEE HORTON was president of Wellesley College from 1936 to 1949 and director of the Women's Reserve of the United States Navy during the war.*



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Mrs. Meyer's talk will never be devoid of life. A reader is left vicariously weary as he follows this vigorous proponent of good works through her crusades. Moving with her own articulate logic from one sphere of human endeavor to another, she sweeps her readers along to her concluding statement of the "main features of the program" she has "outlined for the spread of justice and freedom and human happiness," no small or dull objective in anybody's language. The program includes a public-school system worthy of a democracy, federal aid to public schools (and *not* repeat *not* to sectarian ones), a nation-wide, locally controlled health program, the elimination of slums and expansion of housing programs, a carefully devised system of hospitals to cover the country, no socialized medicine but voluntary health- and hospital-insurance programs and statewide programs of medical care for the indigent, all kinds of wisely administered and financed federal security programs (to be thoroughly studied), a review of voluntary welfare programs and their adequate integration with public ones, and "equal opportunities for the Negro in our political, economic, and social structure."

ONE OF THE delights of becoming acquainted with Mrs. Meyer by means of this book is that one discovers a really independent person, one who fits into no standard package. In the light of her general philosophy of life one would expect to find this social-minded woman worried about barriers to immigration into the United States: it would seem natural for her to be among those urging fuller participation by women in business, government, the professions. Her apparent lack of concern about the religious institutions of the country seems a bit odd since so many people who share her other interests are found in these groups. But the subject of this book is no "joiner," though she has been the dynamo in many an organization. She is no "drifter" going along with the crowd. She is herself. She is a thoroughly happy wife, a properly modest and properly proud mother, a person generous in friendship, unafraid to speak her mind and well-equipped to speak it effectively.

The book has a curious quality, a kind of undogmatic dogmatism. Its argument represents the concentrated conclusion of a lifetime of thoughtful living. One gets the impression that at one time or another all the conclusions have been challenged, but that after she has thought her way through to a conviction, it is hardly worth Mrs. Meyer's time to stop to argue. There is little doubt that if she chose to argue, it would be more comfortable to be on her side than in opposition.

The chief value of this spiritual and political autobiography at this particular time in human history is its reassuring confidence in the strength and fruitfulness of the roots of our culture.

. . . by working together with our fellow-citizens to create external improvements, we shall recapture through actual service to humanity the moral values of democracy, the love of freedom, the respect for the individual, and the spiritual significance of brotherhood. His own freedom can mean nothing to the just man as long as his fellow-men are oppressed. Our own freedoms are not even secure unless they are shared by our fellow-citizens. They can only be preserved by their constant extension to more and more people in our own country and throughout the world.

My life has thus become a rational, yet inspired pursuit of the promised land, a journey of which this book is all too pedestrian a record. But the end is not yet. This is no valedictory.

For that assurance all friends of the America this distinguished woman has helped to create and maintain will be deeply grateful.

---

## Psychopath

Oh, lovely dark!
Oh, three times blessed night
That snuffs the burning and unwelcome light
And mutes the lark;
That lets him coddle in its shielding murk and shadow
His secret woe.

He does not want
The probing of the sun
To search his flimsy grievances—one by one.
He wants to hunt
For surcease that he really does not wish to find
In dark and wind.

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*by Louis Wallis*

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# "I got mad"

## Ruth Chatterton

wrote this explosive Washington novel about a Congressional investigating committee, a hot-headed Senator, a woman lawyer, and a young nuclear physicist, because she "got mad." This is what the reviewers are saying:

**Chicago Tribune:**
"Only close observation could produce so impassioned a novel . . . terrifyingly credible."

**N. Y. Herald Tribune:**
"It lies so close to the news that it is almost impossible to read it without entangling its characters with one's views and emotions about actual persons and events."

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# New Books in Brief

## In Wildest Assam

*THE HIDDEN LAND.* By Ursula Graham Bower. Morrow. $4.

The hidden land is a twenty-square-mile hill section of Assam, on India's wild, beautiful, and dangerous northeast frontier. This is the story of its penetration during 1946-47 by a British army officer and his wife, the latter being the author.

Miss Bower (Mrs. Tim Betts) had lived nine years among the Nagas, an Indian tribe farther south in this same general area, and had written an earlier book on that experience. She was therefore prepared for this expedition, which was in the nature of a rugged and uncomfortable honeymoon. The mission was to set up an outpost of government and trade among the Apa Tanis and other people of the Subansari River area.

At first the Apa Tanis appeared to be "ill-mannered, thievish, mean, dirty, inhospitable, and xenophobic." But as the British couple worked with them, affection and interest grew. By the end of their stay Miss Bower is writing that "these wild and naked savages . . . were our own people, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh." The coming of independence meant the end of the mission and the conclusion that "across the barriers of caste and custom and color human beings are one."

## Baker Street Game

*HOLMES AND WATSON.* A Miscellany. By S. C. Roberts. Oxford. $3.

It has been pointed out often enough that the Sherlock Holmes stories are feeble in plot and platitudinous in sentiment. Also that when the great detective pulls a rabbit out of his hat he frequently does so with all the virtuosity of an eight-year-old who got "How to Be a Magician" for Christmas. Yet the fact remains that, next to Robinson Crusoe, Holmes is probably the best-known fictional character created since the age of myth. This is a greater mystery than any he ever solved, but the secret probably has something to do with the utter innocence of the stories morally and intellectually as well as technically. You cannot forget Holmes because he is so obvious, and he sometimes appeals as strongly to those who are tired of sophistication as to those who are unsophisticated. This little book by the Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, plays with mock solemnity a favorite game of the Sherlockians. You assume that the careless chronology and other inconsistencies in the legend as Conan Doyle gradually evolved it are resolvable and then apply to them the classic methods of historical scholarship. Mr. Roberts is one of the best of the fanatics, and as Lincoln said, if you like this sort of thing this is the sort of thing you will like.

## Defense and Inflation

*DEFENSE AND THE DOLLAR.* By Albert G. Hart. *ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND DEFENSE.* By Donald H. Wallace. Twentieth Century Fund. $2 each.

The outbreak of the Korean war and the subsequent large and sudden expansion of defense appropriations led to a scramble for goods and a rapid mounting of inflationary pressures. Once more our economy proved ill prepared for a crisis.

Seeking ways and means to insure that we should not be caught napping yet again, the Twentieth Century Fund at the end of 1950 set up a committee on economic stabilization to consider how to protect and maintain the civilian economy in a period of defense mobilization. Two reports—"Defense without Inflation" by Dr. Hart and "Financing Defense" by Dr. Hart and E. Cary Brown—were published in 1951, and now we have the two concluding volumes of this admirable series. In the first Dr. Hart discusses the various monetary measures that can be taken to offset in part the effects of a rapid expansion in defense expenditure. Such measures, together with suitable budgetary and fiscal policies, constitute "indirect controls."

Are such controls, provided they are courageously and efficiently administered, sufficient to hold inflation in check in any circumstances short of full military mobilization? Since this is a matter of great debate among economists, the Fund's committee, not surprisingly, proved to be divided. However, Dr. Wallace, while agreeing that indirect controls are "the iron men of stabilization," argues that "there are times when direct controls are indispensable," and this view is backed by a concluding chapter to his book written by Professor John Maurice Clark, chairman of the committee. In the light of the events of the past three years, this reviewer feels that the Wallace-Clark thesis is hard to refute.

## High-Class Mystery

*THE BROKEN PENNY.* By Julian Symons. Harper. $2.75.

The British have a flair for high-class cliff-hangers. Ambler and Greene set the the pattern; the lesser writers carry on. In general they are better written than their American counterparts, suaver and more mannerly. What they lack is precision. The American story tends to be machine made and neatly fitted together; the British, loose jointed with a tolerance that runs to sloppiness. The Symons novel is true to form—a story of intrigue behind the Iron Curtain that is always exciting, never quite convincing, and with a climax that shows the true-blue British spirit at its most muddlesome.

## Catnip for Devotees

*THE PRESENT AND THE PAST.* By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Messner. $3.50.

"You are too fond of the sound of your own voices," said Miss Ridley. "It seems that this afternoon will never end." How singularly appropriate, the impatient reader will exclaim when he comes to this passage. And yet, to her devotees, Compton-Burnett's novels are catnip. Sententious, stilted, wryly amusing, cruel, and unreal, her interminable drawing-room dialogues with their distorted echoes from below stairs have a curious fascination, and her characters, silhouettes without body or color, finally achieve a sort of macabre reality. "I cannot think what has come over you." "Then you cannot think at all. But I daresay that is the case. A good many people can't." "And are you one of the fortunate ones who can?" "I am one of the unfortunate ones who do. That is how I should put it." "It is perhaps rather a bold claim." "It is not a claim. It is merely a statement of fact." Im-



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probable as it may seem, the second speaker in the conversation quoted above is aged thirteen.

## Unreconstructed Liberal

*LOBBYIST FOR THE PEOPLE.* By Benjamin C. Marsh. Public Affairs Press. $3.

The late Benjamin C. Marsh belonged to the seemingly vanishing group of Americans who were dedicated to an ideal and fought for it with iconoclastic courage. Like William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown he spoke his mind frankly and fully—and he was heard. For fifty years he was active in various fields of social reform, first in slum clearance and city planning, then as lobbyist for the Farmers National Council, and for more than thirty years as director of the People's Lobby. In the latter capacity he prodded Congressional committees and government officials on matters of public welfare.

As a devoted democrat Marsh was severely critical of communism and favored socialism only so far as it coincided with his basic individualism. He had no use for capitalism either, and his frankness on this point cost him many a large donation which he needed badly. Always the realist, he had no illusions about the early success of the reforms he advocated. "Reform," he wrote in this pungent autobiography, "comes hard in a nation where most of the 'have-nots' are extremely anxious to get into the class they are most vigorously damning."

Like all crusaders for reform he manifested little tolerance. As a pacifist in both world wars he was highly critical of those who defended war as necessary. Nor did he hesitate to condemn New Deal policies as ineffectual palliatives. Favorable as he was to the claims of labor and farmers, he considered their leaders among the most conservative of Americans.

"Lobbyist for the People" is a full if terse account of his career. It is Ben Marsh talking about himself—frankly, forthrightly, wittily, but sometimes ramblingly. Those who knew him personally or are interested in the activities of an unreconstructed liberal will find this small volume of unusual merit.

## Thoughts of German Youth

*THE INWARD JOURNEY.* By Doris Peel. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

Doris Peel went to Germany for the *Christian Science Monitor* "to discover what the young people there were thinking and feeling about the world confronting them." The reader who believes that the salvation of the world lies in the brotherhood of man will be grateful to Miss Peel for her confirmation of his belief and her eloquent expression of his hope. The skeptical and disillusioned reader will find it a shining mist of words.

# Theater

## Harold Clurman

THE "Teahouse of the August Moon" by John Patrick—based on a novel by Vern Sneider—is a hit at the Martin Beck Theater. Of some plays there seems to be little more to say than this. Public and press are so pleased to come upon something agreeable, or at least totally unburdensome, that the sound of their rejoicing renders any further manifestation practically unnecessary, not to say undesirable.

My own reflections on this are only supplementary to the fact. "The Teahouse of the August Moon" is a hit because it is entirely pleasant, benign, and sweet. Didn't William Dean Howells once say that the smiling aspects of life seemed to be the more American? There is something almost traditionally American, or rather American theater, about "The Teahouse." It is about the army in a state of peace, it shows us friendly to the innocent natives of a remote culture (occupied Okinawa), its satire of army brass is gentle in the vein of a *Saturday Evening Post* cover caricature—it is good-natured, liberal, and constantly indulgent.

In addition to this, it is delicately colorful: the exoticism lies not only in the subject matter but in the manner of presentation, which is loose, easygoing, and vaguely reminiscent of Oriental tints and pictures, which—one cannot be sure—are either authentic or merely decoratively conventional simulacra. Robert Lewis's direction is playful and relaxed. A good company—David Wayne, John Forsythe, Paul Ford, William Hansen, and Larry Gates—acts neatly within the scheme designed by the director.

What I like most about the show is that it has a fresh or at least a different look. The clean, almost empty stage with its few odd props and the piquant countenances of a largely Japanese cast are a nice relief from the usual well-made light comedy located in the penthouse of a chic apartment.

The show, in short, is entirely un-


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objectionable. I do not agree with some of my friends who found it obliquely patronizing to the obscure folk it deals with. It has a story-book and American picaresque tone in which reality is kept at a greater distance than in a fairy tale: its flavor is that of a kindly and limply bemused joke. The writing is journalese, the fable almost immaterial, and the creative content minimal. It is candy concocted with some originality, and easy to take.

What worries me—and this, I repeat, after the fact—is that when it is recommended as a hit, one wonders why so little else is said about it. One asks oneself whether the audience which applauds it doesn't really prefer above all else the totally unobjectionable, uncontroversial, undisturbing, the thoroughly bland.

We used to talk about plays for the tired business man, which perhaps implied that only business men were tired. One begins to suspect that now we are all tired. We agree with those who insist that the theater should be primarily entertainment. But one is a little perturbed by the thought that we are mostly entertained by things that give our faculties so little exercise. It is perfectly normal to like what is sweet; but must our pabulum contain nothing more than what might please a child? There is a point at which the youngest and tenderest among us must work a little to grow and be healthy. Entertainment and sugared pap ought not to be considered synonymous.

OUR REVIEWERS are not to blame. They praise plays like "End as a Man," they are not generally unkind to things like "Take a Giant Step" or "The Strong Are Lonely," and though they frown severely at the inadequacies, presumed and real, of plays like Lillian Hellman's "The Autumn Garden" or Odets's "Rocket to the Moon," there is something in the way our theater audiences receive the reviews which makes it seem that there are two sharply contrasted categories of dramatic entertainment—hits and other shows. The second category may include the work of our best writers: these are discussed with all their shortcomings soberly detailed, so that serious people may go to see them if they care to (with due forbearance in regard to the "faults"), while the hits are apparently something that everyone *must see*. The audience that attends the first kind of play goes forewarned; the audience that sees the second goes with the comforting assurance that what it is about to see is hardly to be questioned—it is in fact beyond criticism. The first kind of play usually struggles to keep on the boards; the second is celebrated as a "smash" the moment the press has given the signal, that is, defined the category.

It may be humorless of me to say so, but I am convinced that such a situation spells death to the theater. The critic is not necessarily an educator, and he probably should not be a propagandist; yet I would be grateful to the man who would constantly tell his readers that while the "faulty" plays—such as those by O'Casey, O'Neill, Odets, and the like—are part of the essential theater, a great number of the hits, though good to have, are expendable. For entertainment in the sense of titillation is more readily and cheaply come by outside the theater.

# Films

## Manny Farber

HOLLYWOOD, often scolded by the critics for exploiting a child's cuteness until the spectators are ill from sugar-poisoning, has seldom gone so far as the "amateur" film "Little Fugitive." The movie sends a seven-year-old (Richie Andrusco) "on the lam" via BMT to Coney Island's amusement park, the victim of a practical joke which made him think he had murdered his older brother. At the end of the subway line he suddenly doffs his dependent character and becomes a pocket-sized version of Robinson Crusoe operating on a crowded beach—calmly and ingeniously carving out a new life for himself, making a living off soda-pop-bottle deposits, and sleeping wherever his tired body slumps. The film pleased me for about five minutes, even though the plot seemed manufactured to permit yet another documentarist to shoot his favorite run-down American environment; then it disintegrated into a compromise with the truth about the world of a small-fry Brooklynite.

The producing team (Orkin-Engle-Ashley) obviously feel Andrusco is an acting fire-ball, a kid Brando, but they are probably wrong. His chief traits are provoking enough—a phlegm-inclosed Brooklyn dialect that makes him sound as if he were talking through a tin can, a purposeful expression achieved by searching eyes and sullen mouth, and a style limited to those childish mannerisms that make fatuous mothers squeal with pleasure. Moreover, his personality seems to lack a core: the more the camera searches for a miniature Chaplin, the more vague and boring Andrusco becomes. He is best as a sort of incidental figure—playing with a pail and shovel, drifting out of the subway with a crowd of adults.

"Little Fugitive" has been a money-maker on the art-theater circuit. It pleases the people who go for "Rashomon," Rossellini, and Cocteau because it offers a modern view of a child's psyche, plus the preciously naturalistic technique of a European film. This camera man is too skilful and sincere to be branded a mere eclectic, but his contribution is unhealthily close to what is generally popular in avant-garde films. The camera work on Andrusco is always "significant" and "creative" in that it is constantly telling a story of New York at the same time that it fastens on the drooping lines of the boy's face or the lonely wiggle of his walk. The view of his ball game in the street is "canyonized" by an angle shot from the roof top; his lonelier moments on the beach are played against patterns that shriek Big City—the cracks of the boardwalk, the wired garbage cans on the empty beach, lovers' silhouettes on the sand.

The film's idea is to show how easily a child throws off the emotions of a tragic situation, and how he out-adults adults in a new and trying experience. This point, along with the ultra-sensitive photography, makes the film seem too refined and optimistic for the subject it deals with. The consistently fortunate turn of events makes life around Brooklyn unrecognizable, particularly, no doubt, to the kids who live there.



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# Records

## B. H. Haggin

THE few Sadler's Wells Ballet performances I saw offered again the pleasure of richly mounted and carefully prepared productions in which the large well-rehearsed company danced with easy, unostentatious assurance and precision and engaging sweetness and good manners. This was in fact the only pleasure from the new works I saw—Frederick Ashton's "Sylvia," "Don Juan," and "Daphnis and Chloe"; and it was mixed with the pain of the dull, empty works themselves. Perhaps because Ashton's earlier "Les Patineurs" followed "Don Juan" and "Daphnis," and certainly because it was danced so well by Brian Shaw and the others, I enjoyed it this time much more than ever before.

As for other older works, I had no opportunity to see again the company's most beautiful production, "The Sleeping Beauty," but did see "The Swan Lake" with Leslie Hurry's new scenery and costumes and Ninette de Valois's revision of the Sergeyev production. I couldn't tell whether it was the deadening choreographic hand of Dame de Valois that made the groupings and movements of the corps unimpressive, and even some of the movements of the Swan Princess unattractive, this time, or whether they seemed so after what Balanchine had contrived in his version of Act 2. However, the brilliance and elegance of Margot Fonteyn's dancing imparted distinction to the performance I saw; and Act 3 suddenly came to life with a Neapolitan dance which turned out to have been contributed by Ashton, and which was danced superbly by the company's finest male dancer, Alexander Grant, with Julia Farron.

RCA VICTOR, which a few years ago issued the Schnabel-Fournier performances of Beethoven's Cello Sonatas Opp. 69 and 102 No. 1 but not Op. 102 No. 2, has now done music-lovers the service of issuing all three on an LP record. They are better-balanced than the old Casals performances, giving us not only the cello parts played very beautifully, though with less powerful tone and style than Casals's, but the piano parts with a revealing clarity and force that are lacking in Schulhof's and Horszowski's playing with Casals. But if it is from Schnabel that we get fully effective playing of the piano parts, it is the powerfully sustained tone and phrasing of Casals that give the cello parts meaning and force they don't have in Fournier's playing—most remarkably, perhaps, in the wonderful slow movement of Op. 102 No. 2: in the cello's comments on the piano's statements when the opening section returns, and a few moments later, in the cello's first announcement of the theme of the concluding fugue. And so it is to be hoped that Victor will do music-lovers the further service of re-issuing the Casals performances of these sonatas.

For several years I have had a copy of the Kreisler-Rachmaninov performance of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 30 No. 3, in which excitingly powerful playing by Rachmaninov is integrated perfectly with beautifully lyrical playing by Kreisler; and it has led me to call for the re-issue of their recordings. But what Victor has done is to re-issue not the Beethoven performance but the ones of Schubert's Sonata Op. 162, in which Kreisler feels free to indulge in sugary slides (to say nothing of faulty pitch) while the imperturbable Rachmaninov continues to play magnificently, and Grieg's Sonata Op. 45, which is not the only work of little consequence that Kreisler and Rachmaninov wasted their gifts on.

Technically and musically flawless playing by the great Russian violinist Oistrakh is heard in Dvorak's melodious Violin Concerto, with Kondrashin conducting the State Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. (Vanguard). The recorded sound is not first class, and occasionally not pleasant; and it acquires a hash of distortion near the center of the record.

Stravinsky's "Pulcinella" Suite is played by Rother with the Radio Berlin Symphony (Urania). Except for the Vivo with its notorious trombone glissandos—whose effect is like that of a raucous intrusion of Mack Sennett slapstick into high comedy—the piece is charming, witty, and discreet in its modernizing treatment of the Pergolesi music. The orchestra plays beautifully in a performance that seems to me slow-paced. Also on the record is Respighi's Suite No. 3 of Old Dances and Airs for the Lute—lovely melodies, but weighed down by the luxuriant scoring—played well by Matthieu Lange with the Radio Berlin Chamber Orchestra.

VIRGIL THOMSON once observed that the Boston Symphony's performances under Koussevitzky seemed to be about nothing but the beautiful playing of the Boston Symphony; and I think one could say the fussy Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of Stravinsky's 1919 "Firebird" Suite (Columbia) is about the ear-ravishingly beautiful playing of the Philadelphia Orchestra rather than about Stravinsky's piece. There is some of the same fussing with nuances of tone and phrasing in the Musorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" on the same record; but this performance is on the whole more effective.

Beecham's performances of Beethoven's Symphony No. 8 and Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony (Columbia), and Liszt's "Dante" Symphony, played by the Vienna Philharmonia under F. Charles Adler (Spa), I advise skipping.


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# Letters

## The Farm Bloc

*Dear Sirs:* That piece on the Farm Bloc and Your Food Dollar by Robert Engler in your September 19 issue was superb! It should be reprinted widely and made the basis, perhaps, of a radio or TV program.

*New York* CLYDE R. MILLER

## Big vs. Big

*Dear Sirs:* Leland Traywick's article in your October 17 issue is timely, perceptive, and vital. Among those serving big business it was fashionable to deny the decline of competition, freedom of opportunity, and the free market so long as there was no answer to the problem presented by the facts. John K. Galbraith, former editor of big business's *Fortune Magazine,* in his "American Capitalism" was surprisingly outspoken in his positive statement that privately exercised economic power has become the new rule in our society. He made it crystal clear that the use of prices as a weapon of competitive warfare has been substantially outlawed by big business itself. "In principle," he said, "the American is controlled livelihood and soul by the large corporation. . . ."

These frank admissions from a conservative economist were alarming to the big interests. But they found a new rationalization in his theory of "countervailing power." The theory had some appeal also to liberals, who had to admit that in a sense big labor does compete with big business. Big Sears, Roebuck and A. and P. do indeed contend in the market place with giant producers and manufacturers, and big buyers are able to deal on something like even terms with big sellers. Thus, Galbraith insisted, a kind of acceptable competition in a land of powerful giants remains. And so he was apparently contented.

For all the reasons Mr. Traywick so well presents, "countervailing power" is a false solution. It would accept undemocratic, bureaucratic concentrations and the exercise of private power regardless of the public interest. It would commit the American citizen to the position of a helpless, non-participating onlooker—a victim of the colossal. Wherever the big contenders find common ground and interests they satisfy each other at whatever cost to society. The individual is trampled on and left at best to big government—if that also is not taken over by the dominant economic interests. This means the end of democracy and of all our freedoms, the totalitarian pattern.

Karl Marx would see in "countervailing power" a milestone on the road to his ultimate predictions.

*New York* T. K. QUINN

## David Hyun's Deportation

*Dear Sirs:* We have known, worked with, or been associated with David Hyun for approximately five years. To all of us this association has proved one of the richest experiences of our lives.

Approximately three months ago David surrendered himself to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for deportation. If this deportation is carried through, he will be sent to South Korea and will face bodily harm and possible death. He will be in such danger because of the relationship of David's father, Soon Hyun, to the present government of South Korea. Soon Hyun was a signer of the Korean Declaration of Independence and an outspoken critic of the Syngman Rhee government. Two of his former colleagues, Lyuh Woon Hyung and Kim Koo, have been assassinated by this government.

For the month preceding David's voluntary surrender to the immigration authorities we worked with him soliciting letters to Herman R. Landon, District Director of Immigration, from architects, engineers, draftsmen, and so on, whom he had worked for or with. Over forty letters from leading professionals and colleagues attesting to his character and high professional competence were sent to Mr. Landon.

Since David's surrender information is still being mailed out to members of his profession; new protest letters have been sent to Attorney General Brownell, Federal Commissioner of Immigration Mackey, and District Director Landon; funds are being raised for both his defense and the welfare of his family, whose means of support have been greatly diminished.

JOHN R. POINTER AND
ROBERT MALINOFF
For the Professional
Committee for David Hyun

*Los Angeles*



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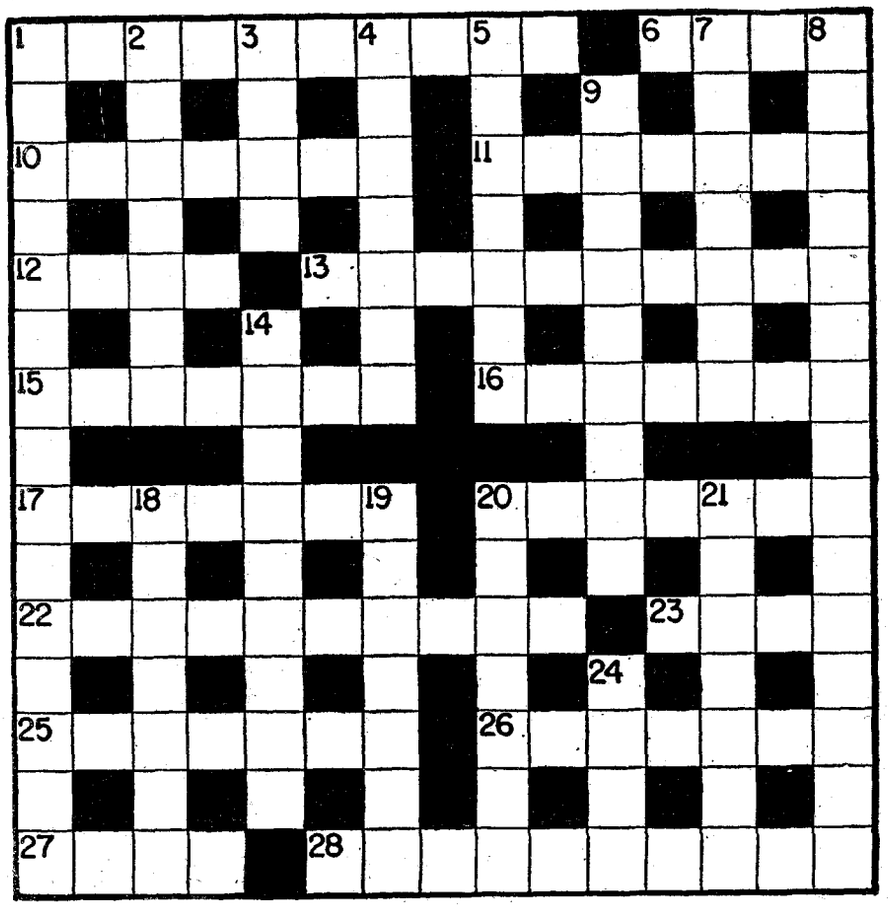
# Crossword Puzzle No. 539

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Deposit a prison camp parasite here. (10)
6 See 4
10 Pelagic. (7)
11 How things will be presented in court shortly. (2, 5)
12 Praise everything overseas? (4)
13 Only one way to keep references of Indian fashion? (6, 4)
15 Retreating? (7)
16 The determination to get the answer again? (7)
17 Wine of recent vintage is perhaps not as fashionable as it used to be. (7)
20 A biblical writer who was a turner of the soil. (7)
22 A bad result, obviously, of being near the well often. (10)
23 Cossacks display such prominence. (4)
25 Dodgers might have such an epithet applied to them. (7)
26 You usually get it with olive 'r twist. (7)
27 No longer available with repeating action. (4)
28 It didn't necessarily come from a nest of thieves! (7, 3)

## DOWN

1 Nelson's version involves a first of the first, but this is more literally complete. (10, 5)
2 You're familiar with such ways as getting around the scene of the crime. (7)
3 This should be a very funny river to New Yorkers. (4)
4 and 6 across Parrot? (11)
5 Its release might cause the kick of a cowboy's horse. (7)
7 Particularly involved in illumination. (7)
8 Gain it, as a description? You might be, if you're choosey! (15)
9 Midwives' conference? It's a persistent thing! (9)
14 Child's clothing which only half the time is black? (5, 4)
18 Good and wet, as a way of the Canadians. (7)
19 Sort of prod with the toe as a signal, perhaps. (7)
20 Peculiar to particular people. (7)
21 Not exactly the point of Paul's signal, but it's the way to give one hope. (7)
24 Before most of 26, it's usually sterile. (4)

• ✻ •

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 538**

ACROSS:—1 TOMTOM; 4 BOB LEMON; 10 and 11 ERROR OF CLOSURE; 12 ODETS; 14 EXTOL; 15 SUSAN; 17 NOCTUIDS; 21 SOUTHERN; 23 AARON; 26 OVERT; 28 ROD; 30 INEPTLY; 31 AMAZING; 32 ENSEMBLE.

DOWN:—1 and 9 THE HOUSE OF ORANGE; 2, 29, 13 and 33 MURDERS IN THE RUE MORGUE; 3 OGRES; 5 ON CUE; 6 LOOSE; 8 NEEDLE; 16 NET; 19 UNA; 20 INVEIGLE; 22 OPENERS; 24 RATTING; 27 TOTEM; 28, 18, 7 and 25 ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE; 29 IMAGO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.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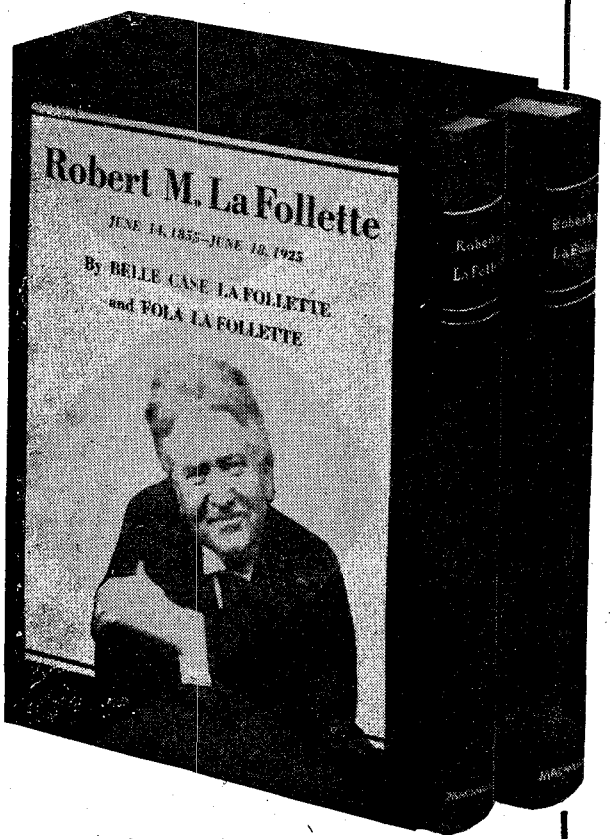


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